462
[503] Besides the work in rice-fields, women dug and cleaned
[226] canals and ditches, mounded land, and fished in many ways, the most laborious of which was plunging a heavy basket into the mud to catch burrowing fish. In the household chores, in which men shared to some extent, they carried water, cut and fetched wood, tended livestock, cultivated kitchen gardens, pounded rice in mortars, and cleaned houses. Boats were rowed by paddling or sculled by standing and pushing a single large oar. Cooking was time consuming. The low stoves were on the
[501] ground or floor. Since there were no tables or chairs, one squatted two to four hours a day to cut or pound ingredients,
[354] stir the curry, or wash the dishes.
[352]
[516]

868 The training of boys and girls for farm and household
561 work was thorough and started early. By 18 years of age,
461 boys and girls with few exceptions were experienced in every step of farming. Janlekha's chart (1955:82) indicates the progression (parenthetical additions are the present author's):

Age	Method	Kinds of farm work
5 - 7	not forced, but allowed or induced to work if they want to	light hauling, removal of weeds which have been turned over by harrowing
8 - 12	mild pressure	light hauling, removal of weeds which have been turned over by harrowing; some household work and help in the kitchen - girls only - (sometimes boys)
13 - 14	moderate pressure	hauling, weeding, buffalo-tending, transplanting, chicken-feeding, fishing, household work (boys and girls)
15 - 16	high pressure	all kinds of farm work, harrowing, harvesting, and uprooting - boys only - are started at this age.

872 Children worked in the fields before and after school
461 which, compulsory for all children aged eight to fourteen, was held from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. five and one-half days a week. Vacations coincided with peak work seasons so children could help in the fields or at home.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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a loosely defined, laterally oriented kindred; the nation-state (mentioned not for formal reasons, but because it actually is psychologically important); and to a lesser extent, the village monastery and school. Of these five institutions, the nuclear family is the principal focus of psychological concern, beyond the individual himself. Otherwise, there are in Bang Chan no castes, age-grade societies, occupational groups (other than the family), neighborhood groups, or groups expressive of village solidarity (such as councils or governing boards) which might impose a sense of obligation on the villagers, or to whose norms or functions the villagers might have to conform.[6] Bang Chaners do not have to contribute their labor to their community, serve as village guards, contend with the dictates of village elders, or even actively coöperate with fellow villagers.

All villagers have additional relationships of varying degrees of intimacy both within and without the community, but these are dyadic, not group, relationships based on implicit expectations of mutual benefit. Such contacts are in nature primarily idiosyncratic (friends), transient (reciprocal work groups, gambling and drinking partners), or contractual (as opposed to affective or kin determined: vendors, landlords, debtors, rice millers, employers, and doctors). It is important to recognize that if some of these latter relationships take on positive affective qualities, they may also assume some of the forms and feelings of kinship. Thus, a young man who is taken on as a hired hand by a family frequently ceases to be considered an "employee" and becomes instead an "adopted son." (This type of *gemeinschaft* relationship, contrary perhaps to theoretical expectations, is also characteristic of many occupational situations in Bangkok.) In a similar vein, the terms for older sibling (*phii*), elder uncle (*lung*), and elder aunt (*paa*) are used as terms of address and reference between individuals who are obviously not related to each other, but who wish to mark overtly their fondness and respect for one another. The use of these

[6] There are two minor exceptions to this generalization: (1) a monastery lay committee whose functions are limited to the secular tasks of monastery administration, and membership in which brings prestige and Buddhist merit to a few selected members of the community; and (2) reciprocal work groups organized for and limited to rice transplanting and harvesting, membership in which is completely voluntary and a matter of mutual convenience (Janlekha 1955). Careful accounts are kept as to how much labor is contributed by each participating family, and responsibility for remitting labor received lies with the individual participant, not the group.

It must be noted that the monastery and its cadre of relatively permanent monks, although the very institution that defines the existence of "the village of Bang Chan," is not from the point of view of its clientele primarily a unit representative of village cohesiveness. It is first and foremost a Buddhist monastery where one may make merit and only secondarily *the Bang Chan* Monastery. Several members of the community patronize other monasteries, and several Bang Chan monks come from other locales. The keen sense of individual obligation that villagers feel toward their monastery could be directed toward any monastery.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

relationships: within the family, usually in terms of the relative ages of people; elsewhere, in terms of age, wealth, power, knowledge, religious or governmental role. Secondly, they are based on the assumption that every individual, regardless of his position in the hierarchy, deserves respect. The first is a respect associated with the proper performance of one's role; the second, a recognition of the essential dignity of every human being.

The role of these respect patterns cannot be emphasized enough. Benedict, in her study (1946) of Thai culture at a distance, referred to the learning of the *wai*, or gesture of obeisance, as "the first teaching the child receives." Although the *wai* is perhaps not the very first social act the child learns, I have seen infants no more than two weeks old being guided by the mother in raising the palms of their little hands to the forehead in expression of deference to superiors. The older infant who can do this on his own almost always receives acknowledgments of approval and delight from the adults in attendance. An older sibling really means it when he says of his relationship with his younger brothers, "when I ask them to do some kind of work, they go and do it. They never disobey, and when there is no disobedience, there is no hatred. . . . Formerly, whenever there was entertainment somewhere I took them with me. My younger siblings love me a lot. . . ." His position in the authority structure assumes the respect of those younger than he, and they willingly grant it for, among other things, he plays his role well as the kindly superior who takes them with him whenever there is entertainment. All the polite little linguistic forms (honorifics, expletives suggesting status and, most important, ordinary kinship terminology with its specification of relative age) as well as kinesthetic forms (lowering the body while passing a seated older person, holding the younger between one's legs and with arms around him in a position of protection) also serve to emphasize the respect that people grant one another because of their differential status. Perhaps the most revealing illustration of the strength of these patterns, at least the authority pattern, was provided by a two-year-old toddler who pointed to the stomach of his pregnant mother and said with pride, "My younger sibling is in there. When he is born he will be *my* responsibility." Little doubt that when the child is born he will give his older brother his due.

With regard to the other respect form, recognizing the dignity of every human being, more than once I have heard parents say that they disliked giving their child a certain medicine "because it offends the baby; he does not like it. It is better not to give it to him than to hurt his feelings." Although I do not doubt that in some instances the parents were annoyed more by the screams of the child than anything else, I am also convinced that for the most part they were respecting his basic individuality and right

125 he could write, could only sign his name, or could do neither.*
212 Those who said they could write a letter are considered here to be literate. All others are grouped together as illiterates or on a low level of literacy.

212 The literacy rating was tested for validity as follows: in
872 Long Chan literacy is known to be related to age. Ever since
125 1925** there has been a school in the community. Since that date school attendance has been compulsory. Attendance has been fairly full for the last twenty years, but most older residents have never had the opportunity for formal schooling.

212 The survey data reflect this correlation between literacy and
*177 age. Among farmers under 40 years of age, only 16 per cent were
*178 rated as illiterate or barely literate by the survey criterion; while 39 per cent of those of 40 years or older are rated as illiterate. Thus one can have reasonable confidence in the survey
• 561 response as a rating of literacy.

TABLE 10. LITERACY OF FARMERS DECREASES WITH AGE

	Age	
	Under 40 yrs.	40 yrs. or more
Literacy		
Illiterate	16%	39%
Literate	84	61
Total cases	(79)	(131).

*177 Literacy is linked discernibly to acceptance of the water and
*178 mushroom growing. The proportion of literate farmers who have tried the water is twice as high as the corresponding proportion among those who are illiterate. It is less strongly linked to the 228 decision to grow mushrooms, and is, at best, weakly linked to the 241 decision to raise tilapia or to use fertilizer.

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212 * In addition, interviewers asked respondents who said they could write to demonstrate it by writing something on the ques-
402 tionnaire.

[125] ** See Siamese Rice Village, pp. 311.

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[125]

"Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital? (If yes) For what various reasons?

No, never went	37%
Yes	63
For treatment or hospitalization	37*
To bring a patient there	23*
To visit relative(s) or friend(s)	14*
Other reasons	3*

* These responses should not be cumulated since some respondents reported more than one reason for going.

If, indeed, the responses to this question are to be considered a valid index, one would expect respondents who reported having used these facilities also to report a higher incidence of visits to Bangkok, where the available hospitals are located. This expectation is confirmed by the responses to the two relevant questions.

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TABLE 23. INCIDENCE OF TRIPS TO BANGKOK IS HIGHER AMONG RESPONDENTS WHO REPORT VISITS TO CLINIC OR HOSPITAL

"In the past year, how many times did you go to Bangkok...?"	Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital?"		
	Yes, for treatment (133)	Yes, for other reasons (91)	No (118)
Ten or more times	32%	31%	17%
Two to nine times	40	37	29
Once	13	12	25
Never	15	20	30

The present study now asks what factors are associated with use of modern health facilities.

Demographic Characteristics of Hospital Users

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561*

It is important to answer one question in advance of more detailed analysis. Does an affirmative reply to the question, "Have you ever been to a hospital or clinic" measure need for medical care rather than acceptance of modern health practices.

No direct measure is available of the actual state of health of the survey respondents. But, assuming that older people need medical care more than younger people, then we have an indirect index of whether or not hospital use is higher among people of advanced age. The data show no such relationship.

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• 561

TABLE 26. INCIDENCE OF HOSPITAL AND CLINIC VISITS IS SIMILAR FOR ALL AGE GROUPS

Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital?	20-29 (41)	30-39 (80)	40-49 (85)	50-59 (64)	60 or over (37)
No, never	31%	31%	34%	37%	41%
Yes, for treatment	39	44	39	31	31
Yes, for other reasons	29	25	27	32	28

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If the responses reflect primarily the need for medical care, women who bear children have a greater need for medical care than men, and one would therefore expect hospital use to be higher among women than men. But again, this hunch is not clearly borne out by the results.

TABLE 27. INCIDENCE OF HOSPITAL AND CLINIC USE IS SIMILAR FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital?	Women (98)	Men (143)
No, never	41%	33%
Yes, for treatment	31	39
Yes, for other reasons	28	28

There is, thus, reasonable justification for inferring that reported use of clinics or hospitals reflects predisposition to use modern health facilities and not simply a need for medical care.

*178 Economic Level
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Although higher economic level was linked to the principal agricultural innovations, it is not related to use of hospital or clinic facilities.

Literacy

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On the other hand, just as literate persons were more disposed to use the major innovations (p. 19), in the same way those who can read and write report a greater incidence of hospital or clinic use.

592 464 a transient member of the family. This was rather unusual, however. The pattern was that a transient member was [561] accepted when he is rather young. If he was quite mature, he might also be accepted; but the expressed motive of the 592 465 464 accepting family would then be somewhat different. When approached by a mature prospective transient member, the family head would most probably say that he could not afford to keep a hired laborer but he would be glad to let the man or woman stay with him as a member of the family, and that they might as well "share in the food, and share in the work".

It has been observed that transient family workers received much less from the family than the standard wage [435] of hired laborers. While the latter received an annual wage of 1,000 baht or the crop from 5 rai, the former might be given only 50 or 100 baht a year. To farm operators of moderate or large rice farms, transient family workers were certainly an economic advantage. It was quite natural that these operators would try to keep them in the family as long as possible. Among the several methods observed were the following: (1) adoption; (2) promise to sponsor ordination of the young male transient member; and (3) giving a certain amount of <u>lengai</u>.

592 464 [597] [792] It was mentioned in the section on the family in Chapter II that adoption as practiced in Bangchan did not involve legal registration of the adopted child, and that maltreatment of adopted children was not infrequent. To sponsor an ordination was in fact not quite as expensive